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778 554 [784] personal prefix; kakrán, unripe; kra, people). This term does not suggest social immaturity, but brings out the point that the mekakránkra may eat unripe fruit while for the hąmrén all that is not completely mature is taboo. Further, a hąmrén never eats of the first part of a crop lest he be attacked by snakes or other venomous beasts. A hąmrén who should taste of a green gourd would be afflicted with wounds on his body; in gathering honey he must not eat it directly from the bees' nest, but must first put it on a gourd bowl, otherwise he would be likely to get injured by stepping on the stump of a tree. He would incur the same risk if he were to carve implements, such as clubs or arrowheads, from pau roxo wood in the plaza, where men frequently work manually during the meetings held there. The "unripe people" are immune to such perils.

Because of the above-mentioned confusion of the words hąmrén and tamhą'k I am not clear how many of the numerous restrictions which hedge in the King Vultures apply to the whole order. In any case the taboos listed suggest that a hąmrén is invested with a superior bodily sensitiveness.

778 554 766 Formerly all the hąmrén had a distinctive mode of burial, a custom only partly maintained at present. Properly, the corpse of a hąmrén (and none other) has falcon down glued on it; and the interment takes place not behind the deceased person's maternal home, but in front of it, on the inner margin of the boulevard. Finally, secondary burial was confined to this order, though conceivably this was once the rule for all, but persisted for the hąmrén when it had long lapsed for the rest of the people.

778 554 171 Outside the Canella I have encountered nothing at all suggestive of this hąmrén institution except among the Kaingang in the Rio Ivahy district (state of Paraná). Here there are at least three classes (p. 82 f.)—paí, votóro, and péñye, the first ranking highest (cf. Guarani: paí a person of prestige) and comprising the chiefs. It enjoys ceremonial prerogatives, such as sitting on a white caraguatá blanket; and is credited with peculiar sensitiveness to noxious influences. For that reason, the chief Vegmõ' told me, he had bestowed on his naturally feeble son a péñye rather than a paí name. These classes have distinctive duties in the cult of the dead. A father may assign his child to whatever class he pleases, its affiliation being symbolized by the name it bears. Unfortunately my data are very imperfect. According to Hoerhan, the Botocudo of Santa Catharina—closely related to the Kaingang, though not identical with them—have some comparable institution (p. 83).

Of the first four of my hąmrén categories, the chiefs are best considered under the head of Government, the others in connection with the discussion of ceremonialism.

794 As for the King Vultures, I at first mistook them for an ordinary men's society, for at certain dances and log races their behavior hardly differs from that of the Ducks or Falcons. But soon I recognized them as a wholly distinct type of unit, seeing that they are *ipso facto* hąmrén, in fact, form the bulk of the order. Further, while the societies figure ceremonially only at certain definite festive periods and in a markedly dramatic fashion, the King Vultures have permanent functions of pronouncedly magical and social significance. Finally, they are without girl associates.

794 825 The word tamhą'k is a synonym for kukriti (king vulture [*Gypagus papa*]), with whom the members claim kinship, designating him as kedti (maternal uncle). However, they do not in any way worship or revere this bird, nor do they make ceremonial use of its feathers or parts of its body. As the king vulture makes food available to the ordinary black vultures (by tearing open the carrion against which their weak bills are impotent), so a King Vulture feeds others.

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Membership is not transferred from maternal uncle to sister's son, but goes with the honorary chieftainship of an alien Timbira tribe. When one Timbira group visits another, the hosts glue falcon down on one of the guests, preferably a young man, paint him with urucú, and make him present himself before the councilors in the plaza with a bowlful of food. By this rite he becomes their honorary chief, mehõpa'hí, which is reckoned a great distinction. This ceremony always takes place shortly before sunset, the time when the girls are singing and the elders assembling in the plaza. At a return visit to their erstwhile guests, the former hosts look up the man thus chosen, who billets them on his mother or wife or both, charging himself with their entertainment.

In 1930 Vicente Kratpẽ', the chief of the Krahõ', who had incurred the animosity of the Apinayé, made an offer of peace and amity through me. In dictating the message to me, he explicitly referred to their having appointed his son a courtesy chief and urged them to visit their mehõpa'hí.[58] In 1931 the Guajajára paid their first visit to the Rąmkõ'kamekra, who chose one of their young men as honorary chief. He was probably little pleased with the consequences of his elevation, for henceforth whole bands of Rąmkõ'kamekra would descend upon him for continuous and prolonged visits.

In short, it is an honorary chief's duty to provide food for the members of the tribe by which he has been honored. Of the four tribal groups united at Ponto—the predominant Rąmkõ'kamekra, the Čą'kamekra, the Krõ'rekamekra, and the Karẽkateye—each has one or more of these courtesy chiefs in each of the others—the more, the better in the interest of their food supply. It is the totality of these courtesy chiefs, who in 1931 numbered thirty-four, that constitutes the order of King Vultures; and since the tribal chiefs are hąmrén, the title is extended likewise to the tamhą'k.

This is the only way of becoming a King Vulture. It does happen frequently that as a man grows older his electors choose his sister's son as successor to his aging uncle because youth is deemed essential for the magical practices of the order. But the specific relationship is inessential. In one case a son was appointed to supersede his father, and other youths were chosen though neither their fathers nor their uncles had ever been tamhą'k. This principle applies also to the post of leader of the order.

Adopted by a Čą'kamekra family, I am classed accordingly in the village. Čątú, my hąpínpéy (see p. 100), is a Rąmkõ'kamekra proper and in 1930 had me initiated as tamhą'k by his tribe.

A King Vulture ought to be generous to his electors and to conform in every way to native standards of conduct. If he returns with game and meets a member of the tribe that has honored him, he deposits his spoils before him as a gift and silently departs. All tamhą'k give presents to the groups that have chosen them as courtesy chiefs. On the other hand, when people at large have killed game, the King Vultures (like the other hąmrén) share in the first portions distributed. The ideal behavior expected of a tamhą'k seems to be also imposed on his next of kin: an Indian who had deserted his wife without just cause was reminded of his son's quite recent admission to the King Vultures.

Initiation may occur at a very early age, say, from six to ten years on, so that the order includes many lads and no really old men.

The magic of this order rests on the belief that the King Vultures, especially if young and vigorous, beneficially influence activities they inaugurate and objects

[58] Nimuendajú, The Apinayé, 19 f.

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they handle. This view finds expression in the rituals of economic life in its several phases. A tamhą'k is the first to taste of certain fruits in order to augment the crop; he lights the grass in a communal drive to ensure a plentiful kill; he makes the first incision in the hide of a slain tapir so that it may prove fat; and when fish are drugged, he precedes others in stepping into the water to spit the first victims, thus promoting an abundant catch thereafter.

Many tamhą'k consider their obligations a nuisance and formally resign by joining in the destruction of a wasp nest in the pepkahą'k (p. 214). This seems to be the only method of resignation.

It is only during the pepkahą'k that the King Vultures figure as an organized unit, and then only during the last fortnight of that festival, when they appear as allies of the Clowns, Falcons, and pepkahą'k, participating in sundry dances and log races, which culminate in the great ceremonial feeding of the tribal groups by the tamhą'k. On this occasion all the King Vultures wear the identical decoration, viz: On their backs, chests, arms and thighs their matrilineal kinswomen glue vertical stripes of falcon down to the width of three fingers; this distinguishes them from other hąmrén, who are completely covered with down at ceremonials. The bare parts of the body and limbs are daubed red with urucú. The occipital hair is tied together, and has fastened to it a rattling ornamental bundle of some thirty carefully smoothed bamboo rods, about 30 cm. long and of the thickness of lead-pencils. The tuft of the wearer's hair is pulled through a plaited ring at the top of the ornament; two long arara feathers—rarely worn at present because the species is almost extinct in this region—are thrust through the ring so as to project obliquely upward and outward.

Formalized Friendship Bonds

1. *The hąpín-pinčwę'i bond*

This social bond most frequently springs from name transference. A man who conveys his name to a sister's son or equivalent and a woman who bestows hers on a patrilineal kinswoman thereby make the boy the hąpín and the girl the pinčwę'i of all those who by similar transfer had become the uncle's and the aunt's "friends." For every personal name involves this bond with the bearers of from six to ten other names, masculine and feminine, including individuals of alien Timbira tribes. Thus, Tunkõ''s hapín are the bearers of the masculine names Kaukré; Kẽẽa; Prjčet; Ke'ké; Pepkrõ'; Pąnatẽ'k; Kukaprõ'. His pinčwę'i are the women named Krąkupẽ'; Nyõną'n; Ikurẽ'.

Among these there is always a special friend (hąpínpey and pinčwę'ipey; pey = good, proper, real), viz., the bearer of a particular name who assumes the obligations connected with this bond in the fullest sense, while the other hąpín take them much more lightly.

Much more rarely the tie is established either automatically through joint exercise of certain ceremonial offices or by voluntary arrangement. The latter takes two forms. First, a person may tie an ornament of no particular type round a pregnant woman's neck and thereby become the hąpín of the infant as soon as it is born. This bond holds regardless of the child's sex and is considered to impose obligations as strong as those which hinge on the bearing of certain names. Secondly, youths and their girl associates may choose one or more "friends" during the pepyé phase of initiation. The day after their seclusion is lifted the novices, limiting themselves to their own age class, make their choice while camped in the woods by a creek near the village. If two initiates not yet so coupled by virtue of

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608 362 At pepkahą'k a man specially appointed and his assistant cut off the long occipital hair of the Falcons' pinčwę'i and of the King Vultures' "friends" of either sex. The clipped hair is united in a tuft and suspended from a tree outside the village.

608 364 Further, on certain occasions it devolves on the hąpín and pinčwę'i to clean the streets used for ceremonies in which their friends take part. Thus, at the pepkahą'k festival the friends of the pepkahą'k cleaned the radial paths from the performers' maternal homes to the plaza; and the King Vultures' friends cleaned the radii on which this order appeared for their main ceremony. The kinswomen of the persons on whose behalf this service is rendered always pay the workers with food. It should be noted, however, that at other festivities street cleaning devolves on definite societies.

608 In certain ceremonies a man carries his hąpín astride his shoulders. Thus, at a terminal vų'tę' solemnity the Little Falcon, a boy of about four, straddled his hąpín's neck, for the maternal uncle who had bequeathed the office to him and was the child's proper introducer was no longer living. At the pąrąre race of the terminal ceremony in both phases of initiation the two new class leaders ride on the shoulders of their hąpín.

608 575 In other cases "friends" serve as quasi-protectors of ceremonial performers. Thus, when the down-covered Little Falcon parades round the boulevard at the close of the Mummers' festival, his friends protect him against the Agoutis swarming around in order to tear the glued down from his body. At the inspection of new class leaders toward the end of pepyé their hąpín, with transversely extended sword clubs, seemed to bar the older age class from access to the hut of seclusion, but finally they left the way clear. For this act the two leaders' kinswomen brought bowls of food, which were put in front of the defenders' houses. At the close of their festival the pepkahą'k assembled with the King Vultures in a house, where the pinčwę'i of the former glued falcon down on them; when the Falcons approached, the friends of the pepkahą'k denied them ingress, holding poles in transverse position, and were rewarded with meat pies.

794 608 On the eve of the King Vulture ceremony the members' pinčwę'i have a special duty while the pepkahą'k and the King Vultures chant in the plaza. Spreading over their own backs the mats the pepkahą'k have made for the King Vultures, the girls formed a close circle round the dancers in order to shield them from the nocturnal cold. For this service they had received an advance payment of small meat pies from the King Vulture's kinswomen and in addition retained the mats.

608 171 From personal experience I know only a single phenomenon somewhat parallel to this hąpín bond of the Timbira, viz., the maĩtúma institution among the Šipaya, a tribe on the Rio Iriry, a large affluent of the lower Xingú. These people speak a language similar to Tupí and are in every respect close to the Yurúna. Their maĩtúma seems to have been connected with the cult of their national and war spirit, Kumãpári. In any case during zetabia, a purely religious festival dedicated to this spirit, those wishing to become maĩtúma were obliged to step before his wooden statue (upáši) and to utter their wish. On behalf of the spirit the medicine-man would reply and blow tobacco smoke at the suppliants, who then jointly drank fermented manioc. The maĩtúma bond obliged partners not to quarrel with each other, to manifest mutual respect and helpfulness, and to abstain from indecent speech in each other's presence. In Portuguese both the Šipaya and the Timbira render the terms maĩtúma and hąpín, respectively, by *"compadre."*[m]

[m] Nimuendajú, Bruchstücke, 1028.

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X796 527 On April 19 the kinsmen of the pepkahą'k constructed a road reserved solely for their use. It was not very wide but neat and went around the outside of the boulevard close by the rear of the residences. The pepkahą'k in the meantime built their seclusion hut (pepkahą'kyũkwá) on the south side of the village, about two hundred and fifty meters beyond the periphery; connected it by a broad road with the north-south street dividing the village into its moieties; cleared a space in front of the hut; and constructed a perfectly straight path from their retreat to the common water supply for the village, at the crossing of the western street and the Ponto Creek. They made no well of their own. Thus two days passed.

Wasp ceremony.—During the night of April 19–20 it rained violently until midnight. When the storm had ceased, the pepkahą'ktum (of 1928) formed a circle in the plaza, with their then girl associates—both now married—in their midst, viz., Kentapí and one of Ropką"s daughters. Thus they sang the pepkahą'k songs, while beside them a man with a ceremonial lance and his hąpín constantly ran rapidly back and forth in a north-south direction, loudly crying "čũ-hã!" at every about-face. This is customary in order to hasten the sunrise when a ceremony is to continue until daybreak. Actually the two men kept up this running and yelling until the sun rose.

527 575 [764] Shortly before 6 P.M. the Duck society assembled at the south point of the house circle in front of Yądkré's house. The Ducks are hostile to the pepkahą'k, whose allies are the Falcons, the King Vultures, and especially the Clowns. During the night the Ducks had brought from the steppe a large nest of wasps with its inmates and the branch from which it was hanging; clandestinely they had set it up about fifteen paces from the door of the seclusion hut. Now they marched to the plaza to range themselves in two parallel north-south lines. Before them stood a Falcon, continuously uttering the falcon cry. Meanwhile the women assembled near the retreat. Suddenly the Ducks, led by chiefs Ropką' and Kukrãčą', came rushing at the hut with the intention of hurling the nest into it. But before they had reached the nest the women fell upon it with bunches of twigs and knocked it asunder. Nevertheless Kukrãčą' picked up a piece of the destroyed nest, dashed to the house of retreat, and knocked against the mat-covered door, behind which the pepkahą'k remained in complete silence. But forthwith half a dozen women jumped at him, beating and scratching him severely. Then all marched to the plaza. The women, some of whom had been stung several times, carried off as trophies the fragments of the nest they had destroyed.

Additions to personnel.—Next Konkré and Pačédn were brought to the plaza as the girl associates to join in seclusion. Then the pepkahą'k were augmented by eight further captives. They included four participants in the last preceding performance of the festival; one of them, Tépkakró was reckoned an adept at the songs, so that at a pinch he might substitute for old Ką'e, the singing teacher or precentor at all festivals of this category. Moreover, the two messenger boys were conducted to the scene.

After their ranks had thus been filled, the pepkahą'k retired to their hut of internment. The Ducks and the Falcons, however, ran screaming toward the houses of their girl associates, newly chosen for the current festive period, and led them out to participate regularly henceforth in the dances and ceremonies of these societies.

527 *Seclusion.*—Apart from their daily circuit for food collection and their songs every night, one notices the pepkahą'k very little during the next months. On April 28 the directors suddenly decided that the number of participants was really still too small and captured the supplementary six youths, as already mentioned.

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bers had made hunting trips for days into the wooded Serra do Alpercatas and returned with considerable smoked meat especially of wild pigs. On one occasion her father, Nyõ'hí, had shot three ostriches on one day and donated two to the pepkahą'k.

The next day I confiscated a whisky dealer's stock, then when the council invited me, as usual, to join their evening session, I seriously remonstrated with them because of the degeneration of the festival into a drunken carousal, pointing out the fatal consequences of such contempt for old tradition on the entire tribal organization. Finally I said that in such circumstances I no longer cared to attend the celebration and would depart. Fortunately an appeal to ancient usage almost always produces a good effect on these Indians. The elders were visibly ashamed, took my part and acted accordingly, so that the excesses ceased and the festival was resumed according to program.

Ducks and Falcons.—During the entire period of seclusion these societies maintained a holiday spirit in the village by almost daily dances and log races. Since sundry families were behind schedule with their rice harvest, they repeatedly called on these societies for aid, which was always readily granted. The entire organization would then move for several days to the applicants' farm, loaf, and dance half of the time, but assist at the harvest during the remainder. As compensation they were content with receiving their board and a small quantity of rice, which the girl associates were told to prepare for a common meal in the lodge on the members' return to the village. The homeward trip of course always took the form of a log race.

Various activities.—On May 20 greater variety was ushered in with a race arranged by the pepkahą'k from the plaza to their hut of seclusion. On the next day the villagers began carefully to clear the radial paths of grass and rough spots, beginning with the paths leading from the leaders' houses to the plaza. But the requisite labor was not performed by the inmates of a house, but by the hąpín of the pepkahą'k in question, whose kin compensated his "friend" by a gourd bowl filled with food. In the meantime the pepkahą'k themselves fixed the street leading westward outside the village, continuing as far as the Ponto Creek crossing so that the road almost resembled an automobile highway.

On May 24 these labors of the pepkahą'k were finished. Even several days previously they had begun making mats of burity bast, and now this work was zealously continued.

On the morning of the 24th the Ducks and the Falcons ran a race around the boulevard, then the two societies and their girls, forming one long line along the same street, danced from house to house, collecting victuals. With these they moved into the steppe to hunt falcons in order to secure the large quantity of down required for festive body decoration. Those owning guns received ammunition from me.

At 7 P.M. on June 3 all the men assembled in the plaza and grouped themselves in four divisions. This arrangement, which is peculiar to the King Vulture ceremonial, rests on a distinctive principle, viz., the matrilineal descent of the population according to the *tribes* that gradually contributed to the present village community. For the Rąmkõ'kamekra have come to incorporate fragments of the Čą'kamekra, the Karẽ'kateye, and the Krõ'rekamekra (pp. 30–32, 35). Of the Apą'nyekra only two survivors remain in the village, while the Hõtí (=Apinayé) immigrants are quite extinct, so that these two tribes are no longer represented at the segregation in question. The indigenous and numerically quite preponderant Rąmkõ'kamekra occupy the very center, the three surviving immigrant fragments are grouped along the periphery of the plaza according to the direction from which their ancestors

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migrated. On the evening of June 3 the grouping was apparently tried only tentatively.

Early on the morning of June 4 the Ducks and Falcons arranged a log race. The ensuing episode really had no connection with the festival. In the presence of many onlookers the men of the kupẽ plaza group now glued falcon down on a youth of their own group whose illness had prevented participation in the last year's ketúaye initiation and painted him with urucú, all this taking place in his maternal home. The kupẽ thereupon camped at their proper station, the south-southwest corner of the plaza, whither the youth brought them a gourd bowl filled with food.

At 4:30 P.M. the men resumed the previous evening's places in the plaza according to tribal affiliation. Then, each group by itself marched in single file around the boulevard, each tribe receiving victuals from the matrilineal homes of its King Vulture members. The food was subsequently distributed and consumed in the plaza.

During this night the pepkahą'k ought to have sung together with their girls until daybreak; but the weather only permitted this activity till midnight.

On June 5 there was another sunrise log race arranged by the Ducks and the Falcons, followed by a shooting match in front of the Falcons' lodge.

In the meantime the women and girls had made for their pepkahą'k relatives new chest and neck cords (horkakačẽ') of the finest burity bast. The messengers collected these ornaments for the pepkahą'k, who dyed them and their newly made earplugs, also in part their own bodies, yellow with the sap of the urucú root. Then they put on this new decoration, but took pains to hide some coils of the finest cords in their hair, their girdle, their armpits, even gluing them to the soles of their feet. Two Clowns joined them, wearing bandoleers and girdles of the coarsest burity bast, which one of them had also wrapped around his ankles; instead of staffs they carried rough branches with foliage.

After the close of the Duck-Falcon log race the women assembled in the two houses between which the street from the seclusion hut merges into the village. There they waited while the two old directors of the festival met in the plaza and marched toward the hut of seclusion. Soon the pepkahą'k with their yellow cord ornamentation began to parade toward the village. But as they approached the houses where the women were waiting, these rushed upon them in full force and took off their cords in order to make girdles of them for themselves. But the pepkahą'k, robbed of all but their concealed cords, marched on along their external road beyond the circle of houses and, as usual, gathered food in their maternal homes. One of the two Clowns marched ahead, sweeping the road ahead with his leafy bough; his mate brought up the rear. Both got an ample share of food handed out to them from the homes of the pepkahą'k.

On June 9 the pepkahą'k once more decorated themselves in their hut with the yellow cords saved by concealment. In pairs and trios they sneaked backward into the steppe, describing a big arc around the outside of the village, and afterward reassembled toward the opposite (north) side. One of them climbed a high steppe tree near by, from which he could survey the entire village. The others hid in the grass, shielding themselves from the notice of chance passers-by, behind lopped-off branches.

As soon as the lookout saw the two directors meeting in the plaza in order to depart for the seclusion hut, he slid down the tree and reported to his comrades, who now, shielding themselves with their boughs, cautiously slunk through the grass toward the northern exit of th north-south street of the village. As soon as they

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Mat dance.—At 7 P.M. the entire population of the village gathered in the plaza, the families building small fires at the periphery and camping there. In the middle the pepkahą'k sang and formed a circle round the King Vultures. Some days previously the pepkahą'k had turned over to their pinčwę'i the burity mats as soon as they had finished them. Each King Vulture now received from his sister or female parallel cousin a mat and a little meat pie, but at once handed these gifts to his pinčwę'i. These female "friends" of the King Vultures now sat with folded mats in the circle around the dancers. When the night grew cold, they rose and covered themselves with the mats, standing at midnight like pillars. But then they opened the mats in the back and joining one mat to the other formed a compact circle around the dancers to shield them from the cold. Judging from my personal experience, this aim was actually attained. From the outside nothing of the group appeared except the closed circular wall of mats.

Meanwhile the dancers took turns walking to and fro with a ceremonial lance from north to south outside the group and crying loudly "čũhã!" each time before facing about on the south side. As noted, this rite purports to hasten the coming of daybreak.

More haircutting; feathering; Ducks.—On the same night the long occipital hair of all hąpín and pinčwę'i of either the King Vultures or the pepkahą'k was cut short and united with the tufts clipped in the preceding night from the Falcons' pinčwę'i. The resulting large bundle was subsequently hung from a branch about 6 m. high in the steppe to the west of the village, whence I took it down for my collection. This ceremony lasted all night; only at daybreak the pepkahą'k and the King Vultures jointly danced around the boulevard, then dispersed to their maternal homes.

On the following morning (June 13) the pepkahą'k, accompanied by their two girl associates and those of the last preceding celebration of the festival, gathered together in a house on the northeast of the circle of houses, where falcon down was stuck on them. At the same hour the Falcons, each in his maternal home, were similarly decorated. Three little children—"young falcons"—were also feathered with periquito down and later took part in the ceremony, straddling the shoulders of adults. While the completely ornamented pepkahą'k were singing in the house, a Falcon "flew" from house to house, that is, used his arms to mimic flying, and assembled his mates, who jointly crossed the plaza and marched straight to the house where the pepkahą'k were still singing. On the space in front of the house they encountered the members' hąpín and pinčwę'i, who were dancing in one line and all holding a long pole horizontally before them. Opposite to them the hąpín and pinčwę'i of the King Vultures were similarly dancing in a parallel line with another pole. Two Falcons, holding staffs, and two erstwhile girl associates carrying the "young falcons" on their shoulders, walked back and forth between the two poles for a while, then the Falcons departed for the plaza, soon followed by the pepkahą'k and the undecorated King Vultures.

In the meantime, the female relatives of the several pepkahą'k were making meat pies, which they turned over to their kinsmen's pinčwę'i, who distributed them in the houses.

Then the Nestor of the village, flanked by two other old men who had once belonged to the Duck organization, stepped into the plaza facing east. The Ducks took positions behind this trio. Presently the Falcons rushed out of their lodge on the opposite side and bombarded the Ducks with pieces of sugar cane, yam tubers, oranges, etc. The attacked party evaded the missiles by deftly jumping aside, but

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several nevertheless received slight scratches. Then the Ducks faced westward and were similarly assaulted by the pepkahą'k of the preceding celebration.

King Vulture ceremony.—Toward 4 P.M. each of the thirty-four King Vultures in his maternal home had his chest, back, arms, and thighs decorated with bands of falcon down three fingers wide, the intervening bare spaces of the limbs and body being painted with urueú. They further donned the dorsal ornament that is exclusively theirs, viz., a bundle of carefully smoothed bamboo rods (popók) of lead-pencil thickness and about 30 cm. long. In the following ceremony all the thirty-four King Vultures exactly patterned their behavior on that of their leader Tunkõ', whose movements they immediately imitated, producing a very pretty effect.

Exactly at the same time as Tunkõ' all stepped out of their homes on the boulevard, where a big gourd bowl with food had been set down for each man. All made flying movements with a leftward lunge and outstretched arms, then took the bowl into the left arm, followed the radial paths of their homes halfway to the plaza, constantly making leftward lunges, dragging the right foot after, and mimicking flying with their free right arms. At the halting place they set down the bowls and for a while repeated the flying movements with both arms. Then they picked up the bowls again and in the manner described advanced to the plaza, where they all arrived at the very same moment from all directions and united in a circle. Setting down the bowls, they continued for a while with flying movements with both arms. Meanwhile the other men of the village had been standing in the plaza, segregated by the four tribal divisions. Now they approached, picked up the bowls, and distributed the food in them among themselves.

Thereupon the King Vultures marched to a house on the northwest side of the village, where all deposited their dorsal pendants on a mat placed on the ground. Their kinswomen picked them up, sheathed them in specially plaited burity bast containers, and then stowed them away. The King Vultures then marched back to the plaza and sat down on the west side.

Meanwhile the Falcons and Ducks, preceded by two men with ceremonial lances, jointly danced in a double line round the boulevard, singing. This dance announced the imminent slaughter of a tame taitetú pig on the following day.

Toward sunset a bearer of the pepkahą'k lance ran to an eastern house, out of which soon stepped the pepkahą'k girls, preceded by two men with dance rattles. They wore broad, undyed cotton wristlets with thick tassels, and down each one's back was hanging a little bowl. Slowly singing and dancing, the group moved toward the plaza, while the lance bearer was constantly running back and forth between them and the plaza. When the dancers had at last reached the plaza, the lance bearer thrust his lance into the ground, whereupon the two girls, who had been joined by their predecessors of the last preceding celebration, together with the rattle bearers formed a circle around it, and sang while dancing toward and away from the lance.

The day closed with a round dance in the plaza by the united pepkahą'k, Falcons, Ducks, and King Vultures, followed by a final dance around the boulevard.

Killing of pig.—On June 14, the last day of the festival, a tamed taitetú pig was killed, as in the ketúaye and pepyé festivals.

Directly after sunrise the Ducks appeared with cudgels, ran around the boulevard, then across the plaza toward the house of the woman who owned the taitetú. The beast was led to the space in front of the house and immediately clubbed to death by the Ducks, who dragged it into the steppe amid the loud lamentations of

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all the male and female residents of the dwelling. Similarly the Ducks treated a tamed paca (*Coelogenys paca*). For lack of another tame taitetú, the pepkahą'k, Falcons, and Clowns then killed a domestic pig, which was cooked in Yadkré's house. In the meantime they and the Ducks, who were carrying the taitetú and the paca, marched on the north street beyond the village to the next ford of the creek, about three kilometers away, where they camped beside the road and prepared the meat. This was accompanied by a sort of exchange of wives: the Ducks' women joined the company of pepkahą'k, Falcons, and Clowns, and the wives of members of these three societies went to the Ducks. That this exchange, however, involved anything beyond preparation of food by the women for their new associates, I was not able to determine.

Log race.—When all had eaten, bathed and rested, two pairs of race logs were brought, which had been fashioned near by on the previous day—a heavier pair for the males and a lighter one for the females, for the return to the village was to conform to the traditional log-race pattern. At 4 P.M. there was first the customary dance near the logs, which were lying in pairs on the street, then the women took up theirs and ran off, the men following after a considerable interval with their own logs. The women's pair had again, as usual, been made too heavy: especially on sandy knolls they were barely able to move, had to drop them several times, and overcame the final climb into the village only with the aid of several men and youths, just as in the corresponding ketúaye race of the preceding year.

Fire ceremony.—After this double race there was a performance peculiar to the pepkahą'k in its final stage.

A fire was kindled in the plaza; around it some twenty young men and half-grown lads, decorated with various ornaments, knives, cloths, spoons, and other goods, formed a dancing ring under the direction of a precentor. A number of men, similarly decorated, stood outside the circle, and behind them their kinswomen with gourd bottles filled with water. A certain Čąre meanwhile ran with his lance from house to house and brought a number of young women and girls to the plaza, where he assigned places to them, each one standing at the intersection of the plaza and her mother's radial path. Taking a brand from the fire, the precentor of the dancers handed it to one of the girls, who ran straight toward one of the men and thrust the brand at him. Those girls who were or had been vụ'tę', pepkuičwę'i, or pepkahą'kkuičwę'i only made a pretense at thrusting and laid the brand down at the man's feet; but the present or former girl associates of the several men's societies thrust their brands with serious intent, so that the one attacked had to guard himself against a real burn. As soon as the girl took the offensive, the victim's kinswomen came rushing up and, irrespective of whether he had been struck or not, poured water on him from head to foot. A matrilineal kinsman of the assailant then divested the man of all his decorations, but was then under obligation to compensate him with a counter gift on the next day. This scene with the brand was repeated until the last of the males present had been stripped of his ornaments.

Final procedures.—In the evening twilight the pepkahą'k, Falcons, and King Vultures, on the one hand, and the Ducks, on the other, appeared for a circuit around the boulevard in opposite directions. Again each participant received some object from his maternal home—almost always something of civilized origin, more particularly, cloth or iron tools. Whatever was thus obtained was laid before the owner of the killed taitetú and of the paca (but not before the pig's owner), these women sitting each in the space in front of her dwelling. A clown also appeared bringing his society's offering of an indemnity—a wholly useless tattered old basket

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